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THE FACTS AND THE ISSUES

Violence in Alabama: The President faces his first rights test

By Joanne Grant

THE NATION experienced its worst outbreak of racial violence in years and the Kennedy administration its first real problem on civil rights in the week beginning May 14 when "Freedom Riders" testing segregation in inter-state bus facilities were attacked in Anniston, Birmingham and Montgomery, Ala.

Defiance of Federal authority by Alabama state and local officials hampered efforts of the President and the Attorney General to restore order and protect the bi-racial group of travelers by the "moral authority" of their offices.

It was not until Alabama's fifth riot in eight days—in Montgomery May 21—that 400 Federal agents were on hand to confront a white mob. These were the events which came to a climax in the Sunday night riot that forced 1,500 Negroes to spend the night inside a besieged church:

"IT WAS INCREDIBLE": A bi-racial group on a "Freedom Ride" from Washington, D.C., to New Orleans, sponsored by the Congress of Racial Equality, was attacked outside Anniston (see p. 4). Ten of the group were forced off a Greyhound bus when an incendiary bomb was thrown through a window.

Albert Bigelow, a non-violent actionist, said: "It was incredible. The bus was filled with black, terrible smoke and outside these hoodlums were shouting 'Heil Hitler' and 'Sieg Heil'. We were in a terrible predicament. We had either to stay in the bus choking with the smoke—or go out and face the mob. Then we noticed the heat and we realized the bus was on fire and we had no choice."

As the group left the bus coughing and choking after inhaling smoke from the bomb, they were clubbed by whites who had followed the bus out of Anniston in a 40-car convoy. The group continued its journey to Birmingham in cars sent by the Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth of Birmingham.

KICKED AND STOMPED: A second bus carrying seven Negro and white CORE members was boarded in Anniston by eight whites who severely beat the Freedom Riders. One of the riders, Mrs. Walter Bergman, described the attack:

"I was standing there agonizing. All I could hear was the sounds of fists hitting flesh. After they beat all the Negroes, they grabbed them and threw them on top of my husband, who was on his face on the floor in the aisle between the seats. A policeman who was standing outside the bus came in then and when we asked him to do something, he just said: 'I don't see anything. If I don't see anything, I can't do anything."

When the second bus reached Birmingham the group was viciously attacked as soon as they alighted at the Trailways station. The Birmingham **News** reported:

"The mob slugged with fists and pipe, kicked and stomped members of the CORE group and others alike in the savage, 10-minute brawl . . . Police arrived after the beatings subsided." The **News** said that Police Commissioner Eugene (Bull) Connor had gone to City Hall, down the street from the bus station, early in the day "to keep in touch with

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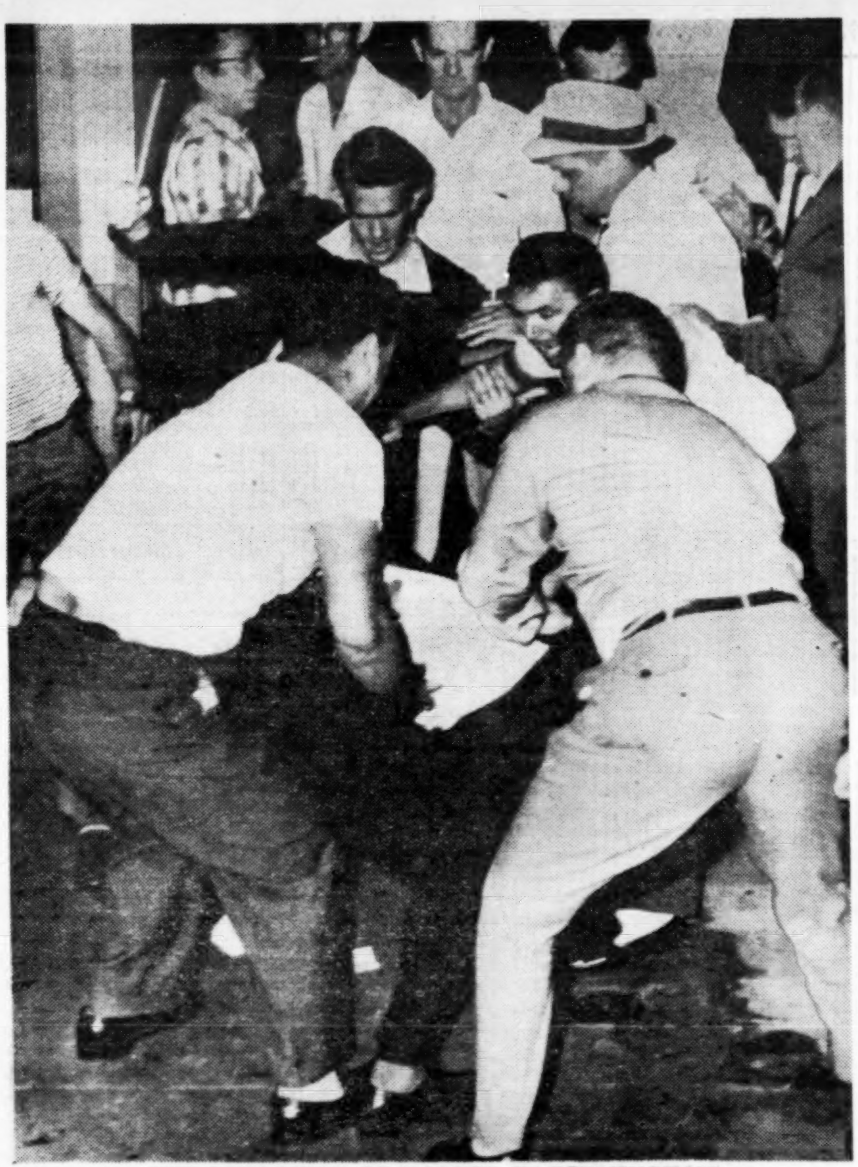

THE EXPLOSION OF HATRED IN BIRMINGHAM
The unseen victim of the gang is Freedom Rider James Peck (story right)

RULINGS HELP ANTI-RIGHTS BILLS

The court's 'balance' theory: Liberty yields to 'security'

By Lawrence Emery

INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES have again been "balanced" out of existence in favor of the government's demand for security in two recent rulings by a divided Supreme Court. The new decisions were expected to work in favor of passage of a host of restrictive bills now before Congress, many of them designed specifically to nullify decisions made by the Court before it hardened into its present 5-4 division on civil liberties issues.

On April 24 the majority ruled in two cases that states may exclude from the practice of law persons who refuse under the First Amendment to answer questions about their political affiliations. On May 15 the Court in a 4-4 vote, Justice Frankfurter not participating, upheld the convictions for contempt of three persons who refused to answer questions before the Ohio Un-American Activities Commission in 1953. (A tie vote in the Supreme Court has the effect of affirming a lower court's verdict.)

OHIO VERDICT: In the Ohio case the Court upheld the investigating commission's right to compel answers over Fifth Amendment objections and rejected contentions that the commission's questions were not pertinent to its inquiry and that the inquiry was without legislative purpose.

The case of the lawyers involved Raphael Konigsberg of California and George Anastaplo of Illinois. The California Committee of Bar Examiners refused

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Editorial: The President and freedom in Alabama

THE FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT to the Constitution of the United States says in unequivocal language: "No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

In this year of the 100th anniversary of the beginning of the Civil War, the State of Alabama, in the week of May 15, sought to prove that the Constitution wasn't worth the parchment it was written on. The attempts to deprive citizens of the United States, Negro and white, of their life, liberty and property—let alone to abridge their privileges—were clearly laid out in the sub-human demonstrations in Anniston, Birmingham and Montgomery, the Cradle of the Confederacy.

The details of these actions are reported elsewhere in this issue. What needs to be stated here is that actions were undertaken with the open collusion of the highest State and local authorities. The Freedom Riders would not have been beaten, the buses and cars would not have been burned, the personal effects of the victims would not have been destroyed if the Governor had taken action before the fact; if the mayors had ordered the police to be on the scene as a preventive force; if the police officials themselves were not appointed for their Ku Klux Klan mentalities.

WHAT HAPPENED WAS IN VIOLATION of the law of the land and the principals of humanity. The miracle was that no one was killed, because the attackers were out to kill. When Henry Thomas, age 19, a Freedom Rider, moved to get off the burning bus in Anniston, and found his way blocked, he said all he could think of was the Jews in the incinerators of Nazi Germany. And when he got off the bus and saw a man standing there, he thought the man was going to help him: "But then he hit me on the head with a club, and I staggered back a step or two, and he hit me again. But I could feel no malice toward him . . ."

For many of us such a statement may be hard to understand and to absorb; but its simplicity and its purity are enough to make angels weep.

As young Thomas made this statement on the Open End program on Channel 13 in New York May 21 (even as the program was being interrupted with news bulletins telling of new violence in Montgomery), Jackie Robinson, the baseball star, and Louis Lomax, a top-notch Negro newspaperman, looked at him with incredulity. They could not hold with him, they said, but respect was in their eyes.

(Continued on Page 2)

THE MAIL BAG

Information, please

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Will someone please tell me why the President is so frantically worried about a "Communist base" 90 miles from our Florida shores when for 40 years and more we have had the back door to the main office only two miles from our Alaska shores and never a smidgeon of trouble?

Maury Tuckerman

Marx as newsman

LAKE GROVE, L.I.

President Kennedy, in his recent speech to the American Newspaper Publishers Assn., tried to be funny. He told his audience, in substance, that if the New York **Tribune** at one time had granted a raise of salary to one of its European correspondents, it might have effected a fundamental change in world history. The name of the correspondent was Karl Marx.

The President is apparently convinced by practical experience that, granted the "right" pay, any journalist can be made to support the "right" cause. But not Karl Marx. Marx said that "journalists must live so that they can write; but they must never write so that they live." And he lived up to this principle, though it made him and his family often go hungry.

The **Communist Manifesto**, the document formulating the principles which since then have changed history, was written in December, 1847, and published in February, 1848. Marx started to write for the **Tribune** in 1852. The Marxist concepts of historical materialism and of the class struggle breathe out of every one of Marx's articles published by the **Tribune**.

Max Bedacht

A reputation . . .

BROMMA, SWEDEN

I propose the toast offered by Robert Burns at the time of the Revolutionary War of England's American colonies: "May our success in the present war be equal to the justice of our cause."

Even the most pro-U.S. papers in Sweden question the wisdom of Kennedy, Rusk, Stevenson and Allen Dulles in these dark days. The greatest disappointment is Stevenson. For decades he has built up a reputation as a brilliant, honest and liberal personality. It has taken only a few weeks for him to destroy it.

John Takman

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

EDINBURGH, Scotland — Miss Agnes Cooper, a former missionary, burned a copy of the novel **Lady Chatterley's Lover** in a street before a crowd which looked on in silence.

Miss Cooper held the blazing book in fire tongs until the ashes fell into the gutter. She explained she had not read the volume fully but was convinced it was evil, adding: "That which is Satan's should be returned to Satan."

—San Francisco **Chronicle**, May 11

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: D. S. L., Oakland, Cal.

. . . and an admission

WALLKILL, N.Y.

During the Democratic nomination convention, I had lots of trouble with some of my friends because I was for the nomination of Adlai Stevenson as a progressive liberal, while my friends argued that liberals were all alike. My friends were right.

Angelo De Lewis

Adlai in restrospect

DORCHESTER, MASS.

Tip-offs on Adlai Stevenson: Concerning Africa particularly, he stated last fall at a meeting of the American Bar Assn.: "Many sections of the globe are returning to the chaos from which Western rule briefly rescued them." Stevenson had been serving as attorney to Reynolds Metals, one of the big aluminum firms with African interests.

In the November, 1960, issue of **Look** magazine, suggesting that we "immunize the rest of Latin America to the Cuban virus," he said: "Castro's Communist methods have revolted the thoughtful people of Latin America. But he caught the imagination of the masses."

Krishna Menon has said that neither Stevenson nor any other American will be better at the UN than his policy instructions from Washington.

Barbara Chase

In the know

EL CAJON, CALIF.

I cannot believe that even Allen Dulles is so stupid that he did not know that the ordinary working stiff in Cuba wants Castro and land, and that promising him U.S. Big Business and part-time work is not going to cause him to arise and throw off Castro's "yoke."

I knew this—but then that may be because I read the **National Guardian.**

Robert Karger

One way out

HEALDSBURG, CALIF.

If the world is chortling at the failure of intervention in Cuba, shall we now attempt to regain "prestige" by tough talk and saber-rattling? Or shall we try to make a fresh start—honestly admitting that our Cuban policy has been wrong right from the start?

What a respect we would gain with the people (if not the politicians) of the world if we undertook to right a wrong in a man-to-man way (even if we had to admit errors)!

Irving F. Laucks

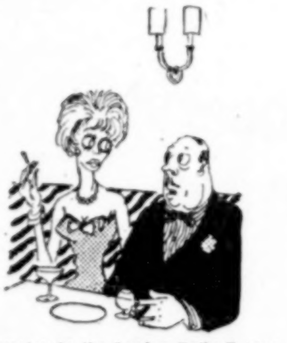
Crumbs & sops

CIRCLE, MONT.

The liberals' sole justification for existence is to be a safety-valve for the reactionaries. They absorb the irresponsible power of revolt on the part of an over-exploited people. They are the liaison or go-between in the struggle between the master class and majority. They are the men of expediency and compromise. It is their job to secure crumbs and sops enough from the masters to just allay revolt of the slaves excited by careless over-indulgence of ignorant masters.

The real tyrant is the majority. Public opinion does dictate the laws and their enforcement. Social forces control public opinion, and a small class who through ownership control these forces, are the uncrowned rulers of America. It is the responsibility of each individual to understand the society in which he or she must live. There is no more necessary or noble deed than willingly accepting this responsibility. There is no higher badge of courage than to speak out for the benefit of others and thereby incur the hatred of both the reactionaries and their flunkies, the liberals.

Hobart McKean



Lancaster in the London Daily Express

"Beautiful and deeply precious to me as our relationship may be, Miss Prendergast, I foresee that it is going to become increasingly difficult to describe it to the Inspector as 'Market Research."

The Detroit martyrs

DETROIT, MICH.

When we observe Memorial Day this year, it is fitting to remember those who died in the sruggle for labor's rights and for a better life. Among those who pioneered in this field, Michigan should honor the memory of four young men who were shot down on March 7, 1932, as they demonstrated at Ford gates here in Dearborn for jobs and relief. The four labor martyrs are my brother Coleman Leny, Joe York, Joe Bussel and Joe DeBlazio. They all lie buried in still-unmarked graves in Woodmere Cemetery on Fort St.

We are asking Detroiters to join in decorating these plots with living plants or flowers this Memorial Day. Ask at the entrance to Woodmere Cemetery—Fort and Woodmere Sts.—for directions to plots 17, 18, 19, 20 in Block 18 of Ferndale section. We will gather there at 11 a.m., Tuesday, May 30.

Lou Leny, Ford Local 600, United Automobile Workers Union, AFL-CIO.

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

ON CAPITOL HILL Army Chief of Staff Collins joined Gens. Bradley and Marshall in asserting the Korean War must be "limited for reasons of global strategy." But Secy. of State Dean Acheson refused to repudiate Asst. Secy. of State Dean Rusk's speech May 18 committing the U.S. to destruction of the Peking regime.

The Rusk speech and Acheson's insistence that it merely restated known principles dismayed UN, created a new crisis in U.S. relations with its allies, particularly Britain. One Western diplomat at UN accused Washington of deliberately waiting until after the vote on the China embargo to spring the Rusk speech. The London **Times** said that "quite a few countries would have voted differently if they had known the Rusk speech was coming."

Some UN observers termed the speech not so much a reversal of policy as the frankest confirmation of charges made last fall to UN by Wu Hsiu-chuan, head of the Peking delegation, that Washington's aim was to destroy New China.

In Britain the Rusk speech created a furor. The London **Times** said "not even MacArthur went that far." If the U.S. goes through with this policy, said the Manchester **Guardian,** "Britain and France could not possible go along with her." War Minister Strachey put his government on record against the Rusk policy. His speech was widely interpreted as a formal drawing of the line beyond which Britain would not go.

—From the National Guardian, May 30, 1951

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REPORT TO READERS

Freedom in Alabama

(Continued from Page 1)

There were many ways of fighting, said Thomas, sitting next to NAACP executive secretary Roy Wilkins, but the time was now. He would be going down again to ride a Freedom bus in the South, he said, because he had to do it. Freedom was worth his life. The elders listened, and then Baptist minister Gardner Taylor said: "We are in the valley of decision. The Negro is tired of waiting. Let's bring this on down front."

Yes, said Thomas; bring it on down front, so that the white man can see it up close. After all, he made it, and he's got to get himself out of it: "It's the white man's burden."

THIS IS WHAT the Great White Fathers in Washington must acknowledge. The burden rests with them. In the deliberate abdication of law and order in Alabama or any other State of the Union, it is the responsibility of the President under the Constitution to "use the militia or the armed forces, or both, or by any other means, take such measures as he considers necessary to suppress any insurrection, domestic violence, unlawful combination or conspiracy."

The responsibility is clear in Alabama because a class of citizens is being denied a constitutional right "and the constituted authorities of that state are unable, fail or refuse to protect that right."

The right in this case is the right of Negroes and whites to ride together in a public vehicle of transportation in intrastate or interstate travel. This is the law. The Supreme Court has upheld the law. The State of Alabama has no right, through official decree, local ordinance or state court action, to contravene the law.

THIS IS THE LEGAL ISSUE, but it has gone far beyond this point. The Negro people of America are demanding—and will get—first-class citizenship. Dramatic actions such as the Freedom Rides embarrass Senator Humphrey because the resultant violence and horror provide "grist for the communist mill" and tend to make the United States look "crude and immoral" in the eyes of the "uncommitted nations." The embarrassment is appropriate, but the concern should rather be directed inward: How does America look in Senator Humphrey's **own** eyes?

The constant linking of our "enemy" in the cold war with opposition to race hatred ought by now to have caused some people—including Senator Humphrey—to think a little harder about the "supremacy" of our way of life and the "backwardness" of the socialist way of life.

We have no reports of racial discrimination against Negro students at Friendship University in Moscow. We do have reports that Cuban Negroes are welcomed with graciousness at hotels and restaurants in Havana from which they were barred under Batista. And we doubt that these Cubans will be waiting at the docks with roses for the liberators trained in camps in the South of the United States.

THERE IS A COLD WAR at home that must be settled before we can with dignity and propriety take our place at the international conference table with nations committed and uncommitted. Just so long as race hatred and discrimination stain our nation, our protestations about the lack of freedom elsewhere in the world are meaningless. That's what Senator Humphrey ought to be concerned about—and all Americans.

We can express this concern by urging the President of the United States to use to the fullest his executive power to demonstrate to the nation and to the world a determination to remove this stain once and for all. We can urge him also to make the effort double-barreled by presenting to the Congress a program of civil rights which will indeed by enforceable law make the Constitution of the United States a valid document.

—THE GUARDIAN

Choice in L.A.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

For Mayor of L.A. we must choose between the incumbent, Norris Poulson, who has a reactionary record both as Mayor of Los Angeles and during his service in Congress; and a nominal Democrat, Samuel Yorty, by his past record a McCarthyite.

Poulson is 66 years old and will undoubtedly retire at the end of his next term. Yorty is only 51 and is trying to revive his political career.

Therefore I choose Poulson.

Maury Mitchell

A yak, at a cost

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

How many catastrophies can we stand like the Cuba boner? The world is laughing.

Vee M. Ess

U.S. MONEY, BATISTA OFFICERS AND WORST-LAID PLANS

Cuba fiasco: How the CIA trained the exiles

By Robert E. Light
Second of a series

CUBA'S MILITIAMEN STAGED A MAY DAY VICTORY MARCH IN HAVANA
They missed the CIA cue and didn't throw away their rifles

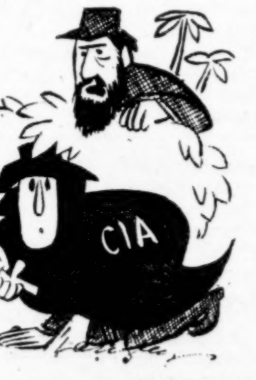
WHEN THE CIA got the green light from Washington early in 1960 to organize an invasion of Cuba, it found Florida teeming with exile groups. There were about 100 organizations—an accurate count is not possible because they formed and folded almost daily—each with at least one leader who aspired to the premiership of the next Cuban government.

The exile chiefs ranged politically from wealthy industrialists who flourished under Batista and longed for a return to the good old days, to Manuel Ray's People's Revolutionary Movement, dedicated to a brand of middle-class liberalism. In between were businessmen, professionals and politicians who had lost their holdings under the Castro revolution, as well as opportunists and adventurers.

Some of the groups just talked, but others trained private armies. In addition, Drew Pearson reported that training in the Florida Everglades were "dissident groups financed by American corporations whose property was seized by Castro."

NO MASS FOLLOWING: The groups had only this in common: Each wanted to overturn the revolution and none had a mass following in Cuba or among the exiles.

The CIA came on the scene with an open pocketbook and a closed mind. It singled out two groups for support: the Democratic Revolutionary Front, a coalition of five groups, and the Revolutionary Recovery Movement. The Front's political line was conservative, but it could not be tied to Batista. Its leader, Manuel Antonio Varona, was respectable and safe. He was Prime Minister in the Prio government in 1947. He advocated the return of land expropriated by the revolution to the original owners, except for "about 15 percent" that is not productive. "The need for agrarian reform in Cuba," Varona said, "is a myth."



Christian Science Monitor
Como Esta Usted?

The R.R.M. was small, reactionary and activist. It kept a dozen men in military training in a former mansion in Miami. Manuel Artime, its leader, was a former Catholic student leader who had been with Castro briefly after the revolution and who had close ties with the Spanish Jesuit community in Cuba.

The CIA showered money on the Front and the R.R.M. **Time** reported (April 28): "Estimates of how much money was pumped into the Front for recruiting centers and other political expenses vary from $130,000 monthly to a high of $520,000 last December."

BROKE, JOBLESS: Miami proved a bonanza for the counterrevolutionaries' recruiting drive. There were 40,000 Cubans in the city, 27,000 of them recent emigres. Many were broke and did not speak English. At first they were a source of cheap labor for the hotels, but when the recession hit, they lost their jobs. While the Immigration Service admitted all freely, it did not permit the exiles to leave Florida.

About 5,000 Cubans signed up for the invasion army.

The CIA designated the Front's office in Miami as general staff headquarters and established training bases near New Orleans and Houston. Training bases were also set up in Panama and on Vieques Island, off Puerto Rico.

But the expanding army needed more room. **Time** reported: "As the plans for a frontal invasion took shape, CIA men went to Guatemala and arranged with rancher - businessman Roberto Alejos (brother of Guatemala's Ambassador to the U.S.) to use three of his properties—coffee plantations named Helvetia and La Suiza near the town of Retalhuleu, and a cotton farm called San Jose Buenavista, 35 miles from the Pacific port of San Jose—as camps to train an army of invasion. ('No charge,' said Alejos. 'Just remember me in Havana.')

"Through Alejos, the CIA also arranged a $1,000,000 hurry-up surfacing of a 5,000-ft. airstrip at Retalhuleu . . . . Later, Alejos helped establish two more camps, one at San Juan Acul, close to the Mexican border, the other at Dos Lagunas in the jungles of northern Guatemala." Camps were also set up in Trax, Champerico and Sayaxche.

THE OPEN SECRET: While the camps were an open secret in Miami, Washington denied their existence. **Time** said: "Alejos last winter allowed nosy journalists to visit the Helvetia plantation. Before they arrived, the Cubans were transferred to nearby La Suiza; they were brought back as soon as the visitors left."

CIA instructors at the camps were counterrevolutionary experts, recruited from around the world. A Filipino, who gained his experience in the campaign against the Huks, was in charge of guerilla training at the Panama camp. Other instructors were described by recruits as Germans, Poles, Czechs and Ukrainians. They spoke to the trainees through interpreters. Many of the U.S.-born CIA men also did not speak Spanish. All were known by code names.

Strict discipline was maintained at the camps. All but a few officers were prohibited from going into town. **Time** reported: "Exiles also say that they were subjected to lie-detector tests before going to camps (sample question: Have you had homosexual relations?) and were threatened with deportation or detention camps at McAllen, Texas, if they got out of line."

But the recruits did get out of line. Fist fights and even a gun battle were reported. Politics was the major source of friction. Although Batista supporters were supposed to have been screened out, they appeared at all camps in top ranks.

WHY 'PURGE' FAILED: The New York **Times** (April 26) reported that President Kennedy ordered the camps purged of Batista men but "on many occasions agents of the Central Intelligence Agency in charge of the camps refused to expel Batista men on the ground that these soldiers and officers had military experience that that was more important than their political background."

Time reported: "When one **Frente** (Front) man mentioned the Batista recruits to a U.S. colonel, the colonel dismissed the matter with 'they're anticommunists, aren't they?' "

Manuel Penabaz, one of the invaders who managed to get back to the U.S., reported that the chief of the general staff in Miami was Col. Martin Elena, a former officer in Batista's army.

On Jan. 31 about 300 men at the camp in Trax were assembled and told by "Frank," the CIA agent in charge, that two of the leaders had been sent away "for playing politics" and that Capt. Jose Perez San Roman, a former Batista officer, was now in command. Because of the change, 230 asked to resign.

After a week the recruits went on strike. But on assurances and threats from "Frank," all but 20 went back to training. On Feb. 11, eight of the strikers were taken under guard to La Suiza, where they were held prisoner with six others who had argued with San Roman.

LIE TESTS: One of the prisoners, Dr. Rodolfo Nodal Tarafa, a lawyer, said that they were questioned separately by "Pat," whom Nodal described as "six feet, four inches tall and about 230 pounds and stupid." Later they were given lie-detector tests and interrogated about possible communist connections.

Eventually the group was taken to a camp in the Peten jungle and "guarded by Americans with automatic weapons." They were told they would be turned over to San Roman "in handcuffs" after the invasion. But on April 28, 11 days after the unsuccessful invasion, they were returned to Miami and released.

The CIA handled the refugee political leaders with equal disregard. It openly adopted Artime, although other exiles referred to him as a "Franco Falangist." One CIA man said of Artime: "He's my golden boy." William Shannon said in the New York **Post:** "The CIA discovered Manuel Artime . . . and has groomed him to play the role which the late Castillo Armas played in the Guatemala takeover."

While the CIA bestowed money and honors on Artime and the Front leaders, it withheld support from Ray's liberal M.R.P. By the middle of February, the CIA moved to assemble a quasi government-in-exile. Stuart Novins said in **The Reporter** (May 11) that "the CIA brought the leaders of the opposing factions [including Ray] together and told them to work out a **modus vivendi** or else."

THIRD-PERSON TYPE: Deputy CIA director Richard Bissell Jr., who was in charge of the operation, assigned agent Frank Bender to work with the exile groups. Bender was described by Shannon in the **Post** as a middle-aged German who had fought in the French underground and joined U.S. intelligence after the war. Shannon called him a "vain, domineering man who refers to himself in the third person: 'Bender will have another cup of coffee.' "

Bender gave the exile leaders a list of 26 names, from which he asked them to pick 10 to participate in the selection of a provisional president. But the Cubans refused because they did not recognize six names on the list.

The exiles finally agreed on March 20 and named a Democratic Revolutionary Council, headed by Jose Miro Cardona, Ambassador-designate to the U.S. under Castro.

The council was assigned the public relations role of issuing statements and building morale. The CIA, and later the Pentagon, took charge of the invasion.

In the final stages a U.S. colonel ran the show. It is not clear whether Miro ever saw the final invasion plan.

HOUSE GUARDED: On April 16, the day before the invasion, the council—except Artime, who was with the invaders as commander-in-chief—was taken from a meeting at New York's Hotel Lexington to Philadelphia and from there it was flown to an abandoned house near Miami. Armed guards surrounded the house

From a radio the council learned of the invasion and heard reports of statements issued in its name. On April 18, a U.S. colonel briefed the exile leaders on the military situation. White House aides Adolph Berle Jr. and Arthur Schlesinger Jr. came at dawn on April 19 from Washington to reassure the Cubans.

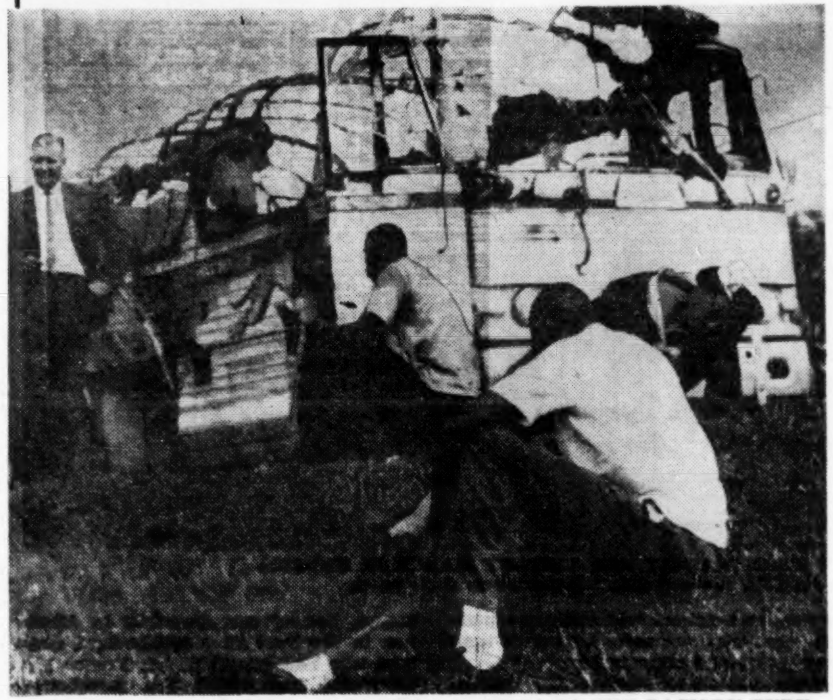
The council members returned with Berle and Schlesinger to Washington and held three meetings with President Kennedy. From Washington the council issued a statement, which all knew to be made up of lies. It said the invasion "was in fact a landing mainly of supplies and support for our patriots who have been fighting in Cuba for months . . . . Regretfully we admit tragic losses among a small holding force. The force fought Soviet tanks and artillery, while being attacked by Russian MIG aircraft."

If the invasion was a surprise to the council, it was a shock to the invading troops. They were told that U.S. aircraft would cover them at all times and that 15,000-30,000 troops from Latin American countries would come to their aid. They were also told that the Cuban militiamen would throw down their rifles.

The **New Yorker** magazine summed up the invasion: "It used to be said that you would never need an enemy if you had a Hungarian for a friend, and Senor Castro has probably by now concluded that you will never need a friend if you have the CIA for an enemy."

Next week: What was the real purpose of the invasion?

The Anniston attack: An eyewitness story



THE BURNED-OUT HULK OF THE BUS ATTESTS TO THE RACISTS' FURY
Freedom riders recovering after the mob onslaught at Anniston

The following eyewitness account of the white mob attack at Anniston, Ala., May 14, on the integration "Freedom Riders" was written by a Southern newsman. His name is withheld for his protection.

ANNISTON, ALA.

AS THIS IS being written, a caravan of cars is driving the "Freedom Riders" to Birmingham to catch a plane for New Orleans. The group gave up trying to travel to Montgomery by bus after Governor John Patterson refused to guarantee protection.

So ended the most serious racial violence this city has seen. It was regarded by many here as a "tragic breakdown of law and order and the return of mob rule."

POLICE LATE: The Greyhound bus carrying the "Freedom Riders" arrived in Anniston about 1 p.m. May 14. A crowd of almost 200 had already gathered. Anniston police were notably absent. Corp. E. M. Cowling, plainclothes officer of the Alabama Highway Patrol, stood directly in the door of the bus to prevent the angry whites from entering. The white men, armed with sawed-off shotguns, chains, lead pipes, blackjacks, clubs and pistols, smashed bus windows and hacked at two tires with knives. Several white men sat in front of the bus to keep it from leaving.

Almost 15 minutes passed after the bus arrived before Anniston police arrived. Though the white men were yelling and screaming vulgar epithets, no arrests were made.

One young hoodlum made such a show of hate he had to be restrained by his own group. Another white man told a local radio newsman, "Give us about 30 minutes before you say anything."

As the bus left, about 50 autos followed, some equipped with two-way radios. Five miles out of town, the two slashed tires went flat. Driver O. T. Jones of Atlanta pulled to the side of the road, where the bus was encircled by the demonstrators. The white men yelled for the passengers to get off, but again Corp. Cowling stood his ground. At 1:50 p.m. an incendiary bomb was thrown through a smashed window, and smoke began to pour from the bus.

All during the incident, the CORE group remained silent.

ASSAULT WITH CHAIN: The bus caught fire and the passengers filed out, coughing from smoke. One Negro member of the group was slugged with a chain. Before any further violence, Alabama Highway Patrol cars arrived. Again, no one was arrested.

An ambulance and a patrol car took the passengers to Anniston Memorial Hospital. Eight were treated and dismissed, and four were admitted. None was seriously injured.

Corp. Cowling, regarded by most as the hero of the day, said, "The passengers kept cool and didn't panic." He said he was "just doing my job."

Joseph Perkins, CORE field secretary, told a reporter, "I believe the Alabama patrolmen allowed this to happen. They didn't realize it would go that far, and when the bus was set afire, it was too late to stop it." Perkins was "all for continuing the trip."

Eyewitnesses report the rabble-rousers were, for the most part, the same "white trash" that has been responsible for other violence. Known members of the KKK took part.

Anniston Mayor George T. Morris said the incident was "horrible," but he remarked that if the "self-styled Freedom Riders" had not been in Anniston "no such trouble" would have taken place.

CITIZENS' REACTION: A local radio station asked Anniston residents for comment. Emotions were mixed though heavily in favor of the white mob actions in Anniston and later in Birmingham.

Said one white who was seen in the midst of the fracas: "Those white men were thoroughbreds . . . gentlemen." He said the CORE group was "communist-financed and communist-inspired" and that the South must maintain segregation "at any cost." But a white woman indignantly said that "they (the white mob) were ignorant."

Another white man called the Negro group "stupid." He was sorry he "didn't get there in time to get in a poke." A Negro man, his voice choked with emotion, said . . . "They (the mob) are cowards."

Other comments from local citizenry: "They (the racists) deserve a medal." . . . "They (the Freedom Riders) didn't get what they ought to get—just a sample." . . . "They got everything they deserved."

Voices of moderation were few. One white woman denounced the attackers as "a bunch of low-class white hoodlums." A Negro woman commented, "Colored people pay taxes just like everyone else. We're human, too."

POLICE CRITICIZED: It was generally agreed the incident could have been prevented by police. The Anniston **Star** said, "Both the city and county officials must know the names of a little band of scofflaws who have more than once in the last year or so thumbed their noses at the duly elected officials of the city and county whose duty it becomes to uphold law and order. They (the CORE group) were within the law and should have been protected accordingly."

A local radio station broadcast an editorial which, while upholding segregation, condemned both the white attackers and the "Freedom Riders." Upholding segregation was not enough and threatening phone calls were made to the station. A second editorial was released. It staunchly denied any integration support, but reaffirmed the station's stand against violence.

One question that was asked time and again in Anniston: Where were the so-called pillars of the community on Sunday? Why were the outstanding men auspiciously absent when the city was beset with troubles of that sort?

Alabama violence

(Continued from Page 1)

progress of the two buses en route from Atlanta to Birmingham."

THE MEDDLERS: The **News** said that police and detectives called in on their day off received and collected reports on the buses' progress throughout the day, and that members of the K-9 Corps and their police dogs were on hand at City Hall. Connor in a statement that day said: "I have said for the last 20 years that these out-of-town meddlers were going to cause bloodshed if they kept meddling in the South's business."

That night Atty. Gen. Kennedy made a half dozen calls to the home of Rev. Shuttlesworth, where the Freedom Riders were resting and conferring, and the state officials. Alabama's Governor John Patterson agreed to provide safe conduct to the state line, but no assurance of safe passage was given by Mississippi's Governor Ross Barnett. Bus drivers refused to drive the group from Birmingham to Montgomery. The group continued their journey to New Orleans by plane, accompanied by John Seigenthaler, the Attorney General's executive assistant. Burke Marshall of the Dept. of Justice's Civil Rights Division announced that the FBI was investigating the riots.

PLENTY OF WARNING: The Young Men's Business Club of Birmingham criticized Connor for "letting the people of Birmingham down" in not having police present when the integrationists arrived. "There was plenty of advance warning that trouble might develop in the situation at the bus station," the unanimous resolution said.

The Birmingham **News**, a staunch upholder of segregation, published blown-up photographs of the rioters captioned: "Do you know any of these men?" It asked readers to provide police with information about them. In an editorial headlined: "People are asking: Where were the police?" the **News** said: "And the police of Birmingham did not stop the trouble . . . The people and their police permitted that fear and hate to ride our streets."

IT DID HAPPEN: In New York on May 17 two of the Freedom Riders reported their experiences in a press conference. Henry Thomas, a 19-year-old Howard University student (see Report to Readers, p. 2), said: "A lot of my friends said, 'It can't happen here.' But it was about to. Those FBI agents are Southern agents. They're after the guys who set the bus on fire—because it cost $30,000."

James Peck, editor of **Corelator**, a CORE publication, who was so badly beaten that 53 stitches were needed in his head, said he had "no malice toward the group, but some toward the people who whip them up. Toward Faubus [Gov. Orval Faubus of Arkansas], Davis [Gov. Jimmie Davis of Louisiana], Barnett and Patterson, who in the South fill the role that Hitler did in Germany." Peck said that the trip was beneficial because it had "thrown the spotlight on the cancer of segregation. Showing how far you can travel unsegregated and use terminal facilities will encourage others to do likewise."

IN THE TERMINAL: That same day a bi-racial group of eight students from Nashville, Tenn., were arrested in Birmingham and placed in "protective custody" when bus drivers refused to take them to Montgomery. Rev. Shuttlesworth was arrested with the group and charged with refusing to obey an officer and interfering with an officer. He was released in $50 bond, but the Freedom Riders were held until May 18 and then taken from jail by Connor at midnight and driven to the Tennessee border.

SPORT IN MISSISSIPPI
For some white youths at Jackson, Miss., it seemed fun to lasso 9-year-old Gloria Laverne from their passing car and drag her along the street. The child was severely cut and bruised, the wound in her head requiring three stitches. One white youth was arrested.

One of the students told Connor they would return at noon the next day. They returned and sat in the Greyhound bus terminal waiting for a bus to Montgomery for 18 hours with 12 other students who had arrived by car from Nashville. Rev. Shuttlesworth was taken into custody again—this time on charges of conspiracy to cause a mob to gather and disturbing the peace. Bond was $2,000. An Alabama judge issued an injunction forbidding the testing of bus segregation in the state.

As the students sat in the bus station's white waiting room, about 3,000 persons gathered and heaped abuse on them throwing soda pop in their faces and stepping on their feet. Police later put up barricades a block from the terminal and held the crowd back. In the meantime Gov. Patterson was unavailable as President Kennedy tried to reach him by phone.

PRESIDENT ACTS: On May 20 President Kennedy issued a statement in which he called on the Governor and other state and city officials to "exercise their lawful authority to prevent any further outbreaks of violence." The President said:

"I would also hope that any person, whether a citizen of Alabama or a visitor there, would refrain from any action which would in any way tend to provoke further outbreaks. I hope that state and and local officials in Alabama will meet their responsibilities. The United States Government intends to meet its."

The same day Gov. Patterson said:

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Civil liberties peril

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to certify Konigsberg in 1955 when he invoked the First Amendment after a witness before a state investigating committee had named him as a one-time Communist. The Supreme Court in 1957 ruled 5 to 3 in Konigsberg's favor on the ground that past membership alone in the Communist Party was not evidence of a lack of "good moral character" required for admission to the profession of law, and also that there was nothing in California law or in the Bar Committee rules to make failure to answer questions a basis for exclusion.

When the case went back to California the bar examiners and the State Supreme Court made it clear that their rules automatically barred an applicant who refused to answer questions in an investigation of his character. Konigsberg complained that this was a new rule "tailored to his specific situation," but it was enough for the Supreme Court majority this time to uphold his exclusion.

HARLAN'S VIEW: Justice John Marshall Harlan wrote that the state is entitled to get its questions answered and applied the "balance" doctrine in this way:

"We regard the state's interest in having lawyers who are devoted to the law in its broadest sense . . . as clearly sufficient to outweigh the minimum effect upon free association occasioned by compulsory disclosure in the circumstances here presented."

Anastaplo encountered the same difficulty before the Illinois Committee on Character and Fitness after he was graduated with distinction from the University of Chicago Law School in 1950. He voluntarily expressed his belief, as a matter of principle, in the right of revolution but would not answer any questions about membership in any organization, including the KKK, the Silver Shirts, or the Republican or Democratic Parties.

His case went to the Supreme Court on appeal from a 4-3 decision in the Illinois Supreme Court. Justice Harlan took some pains to suggest that the majority did not approve of Anastaplo's exclusion from the bar, but wrote that on the reasoning in the Konigsberg case, there was nothing unconstitutional about it.

RAPHAEL KONIGSBERG
No answer, no license

DISSENT BY BLACK: Justice Hugo Black, in a strong dissent, said: "Any state may now reject an applicant for admission to the bar if he believes in the Declaration of Independence as strongly as Anastaplo and if he is willing to sacrifice his career and his means of livelihood in defense of the freedom of the First Amendment."

Of the larger issues involved, Black said: "The majority . . . decides that Anastaplo can properly be denied admission to the bar by purporting to 'balance' the interest of the State of Illinois in 'having lawyers who are devoted to the law in the broadest sense' against the interest of Anastaplo and the public in protecting the freedoms of the First Amendment. If I had ever doubted that the 'balancing test' comes close to being a doctrine of governmental absolutism—that to 'balance' an interest in individual liberty means almost inevitably to destroy that liberty—those doubts would have been dissipated by this case . . .

"This Court should not permit governmental action that plainly abridges constitutionally protected rights of the people merely because a majority believes that on 'balance' it is better, or 'wiser' to abridge those rights than to leave them free. The Court has reserved to itself the power to permit or deny abridgment of First Amendment freedoms according to its own view of whether repression or freedom is the wiser governmental policy under the circumstances of each case."

'ORTHODOX, TIME-SERVING': Black argued that the legal profession needs men like Anastaplo and said that "to force the bar to become a group of thoroughly orthodox, time-serving, government-fearing individuals is to humiliate and degrade it."

He added: "But that is the present trend, not only in the legal profession but in almost every walk of life. Too many men are being driven to become government-fearing and time-serving because the government is being permitted to strike out at those who are fearless enough to think as they please and say what they think. This trend must be halted if we are to keep faith with the founders of our nation and pass on to future generations of Americans the great heritage of freedom which they sacrificed so much to leave to us. The choice is clear to me."

CONGRESS FRONT: Meanwhile the wild men of the Right in Congress were fashioning new devices to force men into time-serving, government-fearing patterns.

On March 21 the House passed a bill sponsored by Rep. Francis E. Walter (D-Pa.), chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, to bar from employment on merchant ships or "within any waterfront facility" any person who refuses to answer questions about subversive activities before Congressional committees or government agencies.

The bill was adopted without debate because only two Congressmen objected when it was called up a second time from the consent calendar; three objections were required to block it. The two: Reps. John V. Lindsay (R-N.Y.) and William Fitts Ryan (D-N.Y.).

On April 11 the House Judiciary Committee approved two bills in the "subversive" field. One, ostensibly directed against dissemination of foreign propaganda, would include for registration as foreign agents those under direction of a foreign country as well as those in a foreign country's pay; this would embrace such entities as the Amtorg Trading Corp. which promotes commercial exchanges with the Soviet Union. The other would redefine the word "organize" in the Smith Act to mean any activity promoting the Communist Party, as distinct from its original formation. This would nullify the Supreme Court's Yates decision.

WIRETAP DRIVE: A massive push was on in Congress to legalize wiretapping at every level of law enforcement: Federal, state and local. Use of evidence obtained by wiretapping is expressly forbidden by the Federal Communications Act of 1934, but wiretapping is so widespread that few people today trust their phones.

Back of the new drive is the Justice Dept. itself, which has surprised some observers because President Kennedy, when he was a Senator, did not join his colleagues on the Senate Rackets Commitee when they called for legalization of wiretapping in 1958. Asst. Atty. Gen. Herbert J. Miller Jr. argued before a recent hearing by the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights that wiretapping is needed because "law enforcement officials should be as free as criminals to use modern scientific methods." Miller told his audience that the Federal government, at the moment he spoke, was operating 85 telephone taps "in the interest of national security."

None of the advocates of wiretapping saw any irony in this UPI report dated March 4: "The House Appropriations Committee voted today to give the State Dept. $600,000 to battle new wiretapping techniques said to be threatening the security of U.S. embassies abroad."

BILLS IN HOPPER: Other repressive measures now before Congress include:

- A bill to reinstitute the program of intercepting and impounding mail from abroad (ended by President Kennedy two months ago) and to create a Federal post of Comptroller of Foreign Propaganda.
- A bill to restore the State Dept.'s power to bar passports to suspected "subversives."
- Bills to reinstitute security screening of both industrial workers and government employes.
- A bill to extend espionage laws to acts committed anywhere in the world.
- A bill to reduce existing safeguards against deportation.

Other measures would expand the powers of the Subversive Activities Control Board and would reinstitute state laws against sedition and subversion.

Alabama violence

(Continued from Page 4)

"While we will do our utmost to keep the public highways clear and to guard against all disorders, we cannot escort busloads or carloads of rabble rousers about our state from city to city for the avowed purpose of disobeying our laws, flaunting our customs and traditions and creating racial incidents."

Freedom Riders who had finally been granted passage on a Birmingham-to-Montgomery bus reached the Montgomery terminal that day. On their journey from Birmingham they had been accompanied by a police escort to the Montgomery city line. A police helicopter hovered over the bus as it traveled from the edge of the city to the bus station. When they got off the bus the students were greeted by a wild mob of thousands. There were no police in sight. The students, newsmen and others were brutally beaten in a riot that lasted two hours. A special mounted posse, organized by the sheriff as a riot squad last year, arrived one hour and 15 minutes after the riot began.

IT BROKE DOWN: Rioters threw students over a ten-foot wall onto the tops of cars parked in a lot below. A squad of police arrived ten minutes after the fighting began and Public Safety Commissioner L. B. Sullivan told a New York **Herald Tribune** reporter:

"I really don't know what happened. When I got here all I saw were three men lying in the street. There was two niggers and a white man. We called an ambulance for the white man but it was broken down and couldn't come, so two policemen took him to the hospital. I don't know what happened to the niggers."

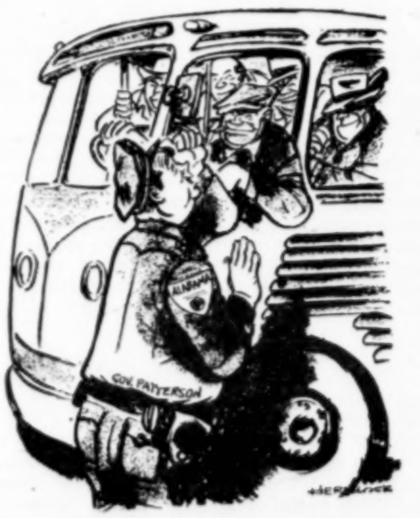
An Alabama **Journal** editor described the beating of one white Freedom Rider thus: "Mr. James Zwerg was hit with his own suitcase in the face. Then he was knocked down and a group pummeled him. Then one of the mob members picked him up and put his [Zwerg's] head between his [the mob member's] knees. Then the others took turns hitting him."

EQUALITY AND JUSTICE: From the Montgomery hospital the next day Zwerg said: "These beatings cannot deter us from our purpose. We are not martyrs or publicity-seekers. We want only equality and justice, and we will get it. We will continue our journey one way or another. We are prepared to die. From here we go to Jackson, Miss., and then on to New Orleans. They may try to stop us—attack and maybe bomb us, but we're ready for anything now."

A Negro student, William Barbee, said: "As soon as we're recovered from this, we'll start again." During the riot, Attorney General's assistant Seigenthaler was beaten and suffered a mild concussion. He returned to Washington.

As a result of the riot the following actions were taken:

- Atty. Gen. Kennedy wired Gov. Patterson that because of his failure to live up to his promise to maintain order, (1) the Justice Dept. had asked for an injunction against the Ku Klux Klan and others to restrain them from interfering with inter-state travel; (2) additional FBI men were being dispatched to Alabama to investigate the riots; (3) Federal officers under Deputy Asst. Atty. Gen. Byron White would be sent to "assist state and local authorities in the protection of persons and property and vehicles."
- The requested injunction against the Ku Klux Klan was issued by Federal Judge Frank M. Johnson.
- 400 armed marshals and other Federal agents from the Southeastern states arrived in Alabama and White held a 45-minute meeting with the Governor.
- Gov. Patterson threatened to treat the marshals "as plain citizens trying to take the law into their own hands."



Herblock, Washington Post

"Oh, 'rioters'—at first I thought you said 'riders!' Go ahead."

MARTIAL LAW: On Sunday evening, May 21, a mob of 1,000 whites gathered outside a Negro church where a mass meeting was scheduled to hear Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy and the Freedom Riders. Gov. Patterson proclaimed martial law and helmeted National Guardsmen with fixed bayonets helped the Federal agents in dispersing the mob with tear gas and night sticks. A marshal said:

"We would have been able to handle this crowd if we had done it from the beginning. The right way to do it would have been never to allow them to gather in the first place."

Police arrived at 8:40, nearly two hours after the mob had begun to gather. About two hours before daylight Negroes were escorted from the church to their homes in National Guard trucks.

Eighteen white mob members were arrested in Montgomery and four in Anniston were charged by the FBI with the bus burning.

Montgomery was reported to be quiet but tense May 22 after a night of terror during which several Negroes were attacked on the streets. The 18 freedom riders were in hiding to avoid arrest under the state injunction against them. Plans for moving them from the city were being made.

Riders at rally May 25

SEVERAL Freedom Riders will address a rally sponsored by the Congress of Racial Equality Thursday, May 25, at 8 p.m. at Concord Baptist Church, 833 Marcy Av., Brooklyn. Rev. Gardner Taylor will be among the speakers.

Atty. Gen. Kennedy, who had issued an appeal for "a return to reason" by all concerned, said that there was no plan to use Federal troops at present.

THE BATTLE FOR THE FOREIGN BORN

How Walter-McCarran act wrecks its victims' lives

By Marvin Stern

Education and legislative director, American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born

ON CHRISTMAS EVE, 1952, the Walter-McCarran immigration and naturalization law went into effect.

Since then more than 2½ million U.S. residents have been expelled. The term expulsion covers those "deported" or "required to depart." The figure comes from the latest annual report of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (1960). Most of those banished have been migratory workers from Mexico, lured or imported annually to do "stoop" labor on the huge farms of California and the Southwest at wages lower than U.S. labor demands for the work, and annually hustled back home by plane, train, tanker and van when their usefulness was over. The treatment of the Mexican workers under the Walter-McCarran Act has become a national scandal and a subject of international negotiation between the Mexican and the U.S. governments.

Of the remainder expelled under the act in the last decade, most have entered the U.S. illegally; have overstayed shore leave from foreign-flag ships or have been found guilty of crimes.

HEIKKILA CASE: But the deportation and denaturalization cases which have had the most demoralizing effect on the stabilized population of the country are the political cases—there have been 230 since 1951—such as that of the late William Heikkila of San Francisco in early 1958. Born in Finland in 1906 while his parents, both U.S. residents, were visiting there, he had lived all but his first few months of his life in the U.S. But in April, 1958, Heikkila was kidnaped by agents of the Immigration and Naturalization Service as he left his job and deported to Finland because of alleged Communist Party membership in the Depression 1930s. He was ordered returned by a Federal judge before whom his case was pending, but died of a heart ailment before a final ruling.

The Heikkila case brought world attention to a problem which has been the chief concern for more than a quarter century of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, founded in 1933 with the blessing of President Roosevelt, to safeguard U.S. foreign born from political victimization. In recent years the main effort of the American Committee has been to obtain legislation establishing a statute of limitations on the initiation of proceedings for denaturalization and deportation.

LIFETIME THREAT: At present, as in the case of William Heikkila, the threat of reprisal under the Walter-McCarran Act hangs over the head of every foreign-born resident of the U.S. for a lifetime, whereas in the criminal field all offenses but murder and kidnaping are subject to time limitations on prosecution.

Of cases with which the ACPFB has been concerned, the average period of residence of individuals facing deportation under the Walter-McCarran act exceeds 30 years. Of a typical group of 300 such deportees in recent years, 178 lived in the U.S. more than 40 years and all but 20, more than 20 years.

Following is a selection of typical cases of Americans fighting for the right to live in the U.S. but facing expulsion or already expelled under the Walter-McCarran act:

August Lahtinen

Finnish-born journalist and editor August Lahtinen has petitioned for naturalization since 1942. He had lived in the U.S. 47 years when on Aug. 3, 1960, the Board of Immigration Appeals ordered him deported because of membership in the Finnish Workers Federation, an organization defunct since 1940 but alleged to have been "affiliated" with the Communist Party. During deportation proceedings Lahtinen had two heart attacks. Federal District Court granted a stay of deportation, and an application for a permanent injunction is pending.

Hazel Wolf

A great-grandmother, Mrs. Hazel Wolf has lived in the U.S. 40 years. Her threatened banishment stems from alleged membership in the CP 20 years ago.

Canada is the country of Mrs. Wolf's birth, but it refuses to accept her because under its law she expatriated herself by marrying an American. The government is trying to deport her to England, a country she has never seen. Her attorney and employer, John Caughlin, warned that such a deportation would establish a precedent.

"If they can send her to England, they can send her to Outer Mongolia . . . This is an attempt to find a dumping ground for exiles."

The key issues in Mrs Wolf's case are (1) that deportation to a land she never knew is unconstitutional, and (2) that she is a citizen of the U.S. because her mother is native-born.

Steve Tandaric

Steve Tandaric lived in the U.S. over 50 years. The only time he left the country was to defend the Spanish Republic against Generalissimo Franco. Essentially, this was the "crime" for which he was deported more than 20 years later.

Tandaric was deported on issuance of "repatriation papers" signed by the Yugoslav consul general a few hours before his deportation. For a time he was kept in a detention camp in Gerova.

British M.P. Robert Edwards interceded in his behalf and he was allowed to leave Yugoslavia for a refugee camp in Latina, Italy, ironically designated "United States Escapce Program Camp." It is the camp from which refugees from various countries are brought to the U.S.

Tandaric's last permanent residence was in the United States. He has no other place to go—as a refugee from the Latina camp. His only chance for return to his family is through diplomatic protest, and public support of efforts of the Midwest Committee for Protection of Foreign Born to bring him back.

José Gastelum

Born in Mexico, José Maria Gastelum, father of two, has lived and worked in Los Angeles since 1921. In 1956 he was arrested for deportation, charged with CP membership in either "late 1949 or early 1950." The basis for his arrest is the Walter-McCarran Act, which came into effect in 1952. Friends and neighbors of Gastelum are demanding that Atty. General Robert Kennedy drop proceedings against him on the ground that he could not have violated a law not yet written.

The Supreme Court last month refused to review the case.

Diamond Kimm

Diamond Kimm came to this country in 1928 to study the technology of heavy industry with the hope of using it in the reconstruction of Korea. When he was ready to leave the U.S. World War II broke out. Instead of returning home, he served in defense industry as a chemist for the O.S.S., and at the end of the war was discharged with honors.

His attempts to get a State Department exit permit for return home failed. In 1950, ten days before the outbreak of the Korean War, he was arrested for deportation to South Korea. The Los Angeles CPFB took his case up to the U.S. Supreme Court. The court ruled, 5-4, that he could be deported on the sole ground of his refusal to state whether he ever belonged to the CP.

He has applied for a stay.

THE DAY THE LATE WILLIAM HEIKKILA CAME HOME TO HIS WIFE
This scene at the airport followed his kidnapping to Finland

Harry Carlisle

Harry Carlisle, British-born author, has lived in the U.S. since 1920. In June, 1950—in the middle of a series of lectures on Sean O'Casey—he was arrested for advocating "violent overthrow" of the U.S. government.

With dozens of others, he was seized in a midnight raid and held without bail six months. He was in Terminal Island prison when Supreme Court Justice William Douglas ordered his release pending decision on his right to bail.

While in detention, Carlisle was the subject of deportation hearings. The Board of Immigration Appeals upheld, then reversed, a deportation order.

In 1960, after a number of hearings, re-arrests and detentions without bail, the government reopened deportation proceedings against Carlisle. Despite the fact that the government refuses to produce for inspection the affidavit of a prosecution witness or the witness himself, it is expected that a new deportation order will be issued.

Gus Polites

Gus Polites has lived in the United States since 1916. He is married to an American citizen; has two American-born daughters, and two grandchildren. He was naturalized April 6, 1942. As the result of Federal prosecution, his citizenship was canceled and he was arrested Jan. 31, 1955, for deportation.

Polites has been active since 1925 in Detroit's Greek-American community. He helped organize the Restaurant Workers' Union, bettering conditions for thousands of workers. During World War II he helped sell war bonds and was active in war relief and in obtaining blood donations.

He is or has been a president of the Samian Society, a member of the executive board of the Greek Federation of Societies in Detroit, and a member of the executive committee of the Greek Educational Committee of Detroit.

In the early thirties, about 10 years prior to his becoming naturalized, Polites was a member of the CP. It was on the basis of this membership—legal at the time—that the government 20 years later successfully sought Polites' denaturalization, and now is attempting to deport him to Greece.

The Michigan CPFB appealed, but was turned down by Federal Judge Kaess, and the case was returned to the Immigration and Naturalization Service. The INS notified Polites to be ready for deportation June 5 unless the INS appeals board upsets the Kaess ruling.

Mackie and MacKay

Two of the most flagrant recent cases, epitomizing Immigration tactics under the Walter-McCarran Law, are those of William Mackie and Hamish MacKay, deported in November, 1960.

Mackie, 52, had lived in the U.S. since the age of 8 months. He was born in Finland during a visit there by his American immigrant parents.

MacKay, 57, had lived in the U.S. since 1928. Both men attended unemployed workers' meetings during the depression. This led to an Immigration finding that they had been Communists. A long legal battle didn't prevent their deportation in 1960—Mackie to a Finland whose language he does not speak, whose people he doesn't know, where he has no job and no money; and MacKay to Canada, where he'd been born during a sojourn there of his U.S.-born mother and Scots-born father.

Both men had lived, worked and reared families in Oregon. Their banishment by Immigration application of the Walter-McCarran Act led even far-rightwing Oregon newspapers to echo the disgust voiced by the Canadian and Finnish press in commenting on the deportations. Oregon's Sen. Wayne Morse has introduced special bills—S-420 and S-421—to return the two men.

Carlos Marcello

An alleged gangster overlord of the New Orleans area, Carlos Marcello was on supervisory parole, which requires regular appearances at Immigration offices. On his last "visit," Marcello was greeted with a pair of handcuffs and taken for a quick ride to a waiting plane. He is now in Guatemala. Immigration agents hustled him out of the country on the basis of a birth certificate which they said showed Marcello to be Guatemalan. The Guatemalan government says the certificate is an outright forgery.

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL of Churches of Christ recently served notice upon Rep. Francis Walter (D-Pa.) that the American people will not rest until the immigration law he co-sponsored is revised and humanized.

The most heartening recent contribution to this end is Rep. Alfred Santangelo's bill, H.R. 6208, for a 10-year statute of limitations on denaturalization. The bill would end any denaturalization proceedings "commenced 10 years or more after the date of judgment or decree of naturalization." One part of the bill would restore citizenship to those who suffered revocation after having been naturalized 10 years or more.

The platform on which President Kennedy and the Democratic majorities of both houses were elected states: "We must remove the distinctions between native-born and naturalized citizens to insure the full protection of our laws to all. There is no place in the U.S. for second-class citizenship. The protections provided by due process, right of appeal and statutes of limitations can be extended to non-citizens without hampering the security of our nation."

$4,000 DONATED FOR STARVING ALGERIAN REFUGEE CHILDREN

The Guardian Angels are the talk of Paris

By Anne Bauer
Guardian staff correspondent

PARIS

YOU MAY NOT know it, but GUARDIAN readers have become the talk of Paris. Why? An article in the Jan. 30 GUARDIAN called for help for some 60,000 Algerian refugee children on the Tunisian border slowly dying of hunger and cold. The response from Guardianites? Over 2,000,000 old francs ($4,000) have come in to Secours Populaire in Paris, the organization that channels all such gifts on to the refugee children.

To all the people who heard about it, this response has been overwhelming. **Humanite** on March 15 published a front-page article with excerpts from GUARDIAN readers' letters.

In a small bare room, at Secours Populaire headquarters in Paris the other day, two people talked about their unknown American friends with a certain something in their voices.

"How to thank our American friends," said one of them, a man in his thirties, one of the directors of Secours Populaire in Paris. "We have written to all of them. But how to say how we feel about this . . ."

SIX YEARS LATER: "Such generosity . . . For people so far away, and who have other worries and other obligations, I am sure," said the other, an Algerian. He had headed the Algiers Secours Populaire office before his arrest in 1955. When he came out of six years' internment camps, he found his wife dead, his three children tubercular.

"We have had a very big check—so big we could hardly believe our eyes," said the Frenchman. "But we have also had $5 and $10 checks, and $1 and $2 bills put anonymously into an envelope." He looked through the heap of American letters before him on the table.

"Listen to this—a letter from California: "The enclosed donation, I hope and pray, will keep one of God's little ones alive and healthy for a while at least. From time to time, there will be more . . .'

"Here is one from New York: 'We should like to know how much money you need to help the Algerian refugees. We can send more and can call on others to contribute too.'

SYMBOLS OF THE REFUGEES PLIGHT
Aid came too late to save the twins

"A letter from Brooklyn says this: 'I can hardly spare this one dollar, but I felt I had to send you something after reading about your work in the NATIONAL GUARDIAN.'

"And an American of French origin writes: 'I am tired, ever since 1914, of seeing children's faces imploring our help with their tragic eyes.'"

THE TWO BABIES: The Algerian was silent for a while, then he said: "The two babies you photogrpahed on the Tunisian border last November, the ones you put on the cover of your Algerian refugee children pamphlet—they both died in February. And mind you, when the war is over, one day—the misery **inside Algeria** we will then discover is something we can hardly imagine now . . . "

"Our new objective today is ambulances," said the Frenchman. "Now that the warm season begins, one big danger in the border regions, with their total lack of even elementary hygiene, is epidemics. Quite a few children have already died there for want of ambulances to take them to a hospital fast enough."

A LETTER OF THANKS: The director of Secours Populaire asked me to transmit to the GUARDIAN this letter of thanks, which I have translated:

"The most moving gestures of solidarity come in to Secours Populaire daily. Our appeals to defend the oppressed, to help the unfortunate ones, never fall on insensible or indifferent ears.

"These past weeks, however, the most touching gestures of them all have no doubt come from your country. Modern means of communication bring the continents forever closer and cut down distances, but the United States still seems far away. Yet here come letters from New York, from Los Angeles, from Miami, from Chicago, from Ohio, from Michigan, and with them come the most precious gifts.

"You should have seen the enthusiasm at our eighth National Congress at Marseille recently, when we told over 400 delegates from all over France: 'More than 2,000,000 old francs have come from America for the Algerian refugee children.' [The whole Congress rose to applaud the American donors.] All the pettiness, the disputes and the barriers between nations seem even more ridiculous after such gestures.

"Thank you, dear friends, thank you for having helped us save the lives of innocent children! Thank you, dear friends, for having confirmed something we never doubted: that in America, the hearts of generous men and women beat in the same rhythm as ours."

Julien Laupretre,
Secretary General
Secours Populaire Francais
16 rue des Jeuneurs
Paris II, France

THE MOVIE INDUSTRY EXPLAINS

No film 'red' blacklist —It just happens that . . .

MAJOR MOVIE companies won't hire suspected "subversives," but there isn't really a blacklist. That is the substance of a brief filed by the industry last month in answer to a suit brought by 12 blacklisted writers and actors.

The 12 charge they are denied work as "public relations risks, not loyalty risks." The industry brief admits that "the producer or distributor must be extremely careful to avoid doing anything that will drive patronage away" and adds: "Church, civic, veterans, racial, sectional and other organizations watch the movies carefully and any activity which results in widespread public disapproval will have a serious effect on the economic success of a picture . . . "

The 12 base their action on a charge of conspiracy under the antitrust laws: "Defendants have set themselves up as an extra-governmental agency without Congressional authority to prescribe rules for regulating and restraining interstate commerce and to provide extra-judicial tribunals for determining and punishing persons whom they suspect of 'subversion' by refusing in concert to purchase their professional products or services."

DEFENSE DENIAL: The companies "vigorously deny the existence of any such conspiracy," but "assert that each acted in its own separate economic interest, and insist that any similarity between the conduct of one producer-distributor defendant and that of another resulted entirely from the impact of identical stimuli, under similar conditions, upon companies having substantially the same problems."

But even if there was a conspiracy, the brief argues, any policy against hiring Communists "was eminently reasonable and proper under the circumstances."

The suit seeks an injunction to restrain the companies from continuing to deny employment to the 12 and asks damages of $7,650,000. It was filed in Federal court in Washington on Dec. 30, 1960, in behalf of writers Albert Maltz, Ned Young, Lester Cole, John Howard Lawson, Herbert Biberman, Robert L. Richards, Philip Stevenson and Fred I. Rinaldo, and actors Alvin Hammer, Gale Sondergaard, Mary Virginia Farmer and Shimen Ruskin.

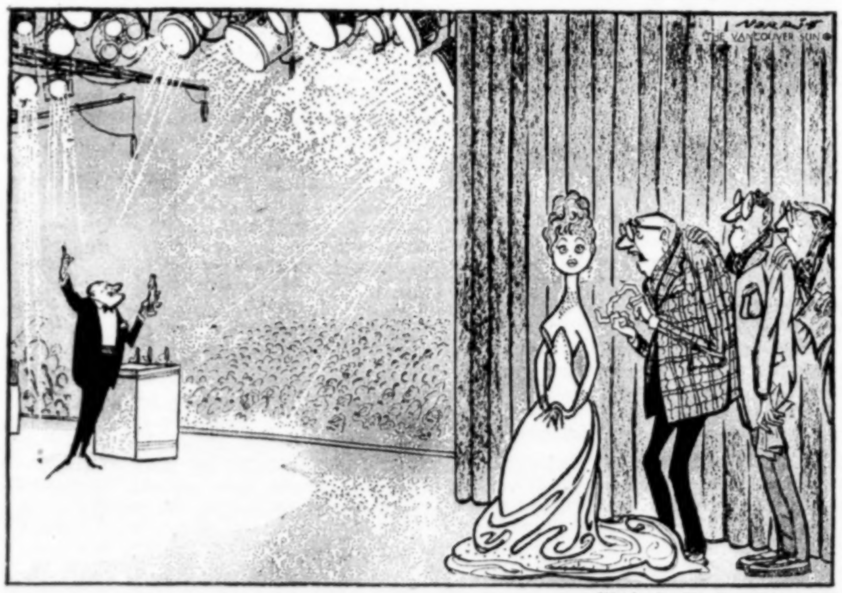
Named as defendants are the Motion Picture Assn. of America and the following companies: United Artists, Warner Bros., Paramount, Universal, Columbia, Allied Artists, MGM and Fox.

Three of the plaintiffs (Maltz, Young and Miss Sondergaard) are Oscar winners and four of them (Maltz, Cole, Lawson and Biberman) were among the Hollywood Ten who were imprisoned in 1950.

The industry brief was prepared by former Atty. Gen. William P. Rogers, counsel for the MPAA and the companies. Representing the plaintiffs are A. L. Wirin, Ben Margolis and David A. Shapiro.

LONG BATTLE: The movie industry blacklist has been fought since 1947, when the Un-American Committee first invaded Hollywood. Later the same year industry leaders adopted the "Waldorf Declaration" which announced a policy of not hiring suspected "subversives." An earlier legal action against the blacklist was instituted in 1953 under California state law by 23 writers and actors but was lost in 1958, when the U.S. Supreme Court declined to review the case.

In 1956 the Fund for the Republic published a two-volume **Report on Blacklisting** written by John Cogley, and in 1959 the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences repealed an amendment barring Oscars to blacklisted writers and actors after it had become an open secret that the industry was hiring blacklisted writers under assumed names.



Norris in the Vancouver Sun

"Remember now, your Oscar is for best actress . . . surprise is eyebrows up, mouth open; joy is eyes wide, teeth showing; modesty is head down, shoulders shrugged . . ."

Special report on foreign born

The kind of reporting you find in the GUARDIAN—the case-by-case report on the persecution of the foreign born (p. 6)—is what makes the paper special. More Americans should have the GUARDIAN's kind of reporting for an informed viewpoint. Do your friends a good turn by sending them subscriptions. Special introductory sub, $1 for 13 weeks. A one-year sub is $5.

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WORRIED STEPS TO HIDE NAZI STAIN . . .

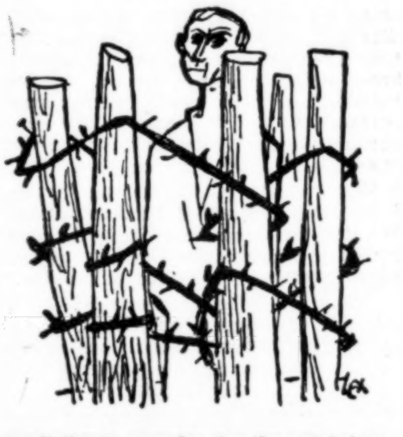
Eichmann trial is casting a long shadow over Bonn

By Edith Anderson
Guardian staff correspondent

BERLIN

THE WEST GERMAN government is showing anxiety over the consequences of the Eichmann trial for its international prestige.

For the first time, it has asked for a survey of current or completed trials of former Nazi criminals in the files of the Ludwigsburg Coordinating Committee of the Provinces for the Investigation of National Socialist Crimes of Violence. All information on this committee's work was withheld until a week before the Eichmann trial, when a press conference was held in Stuttgart, where Justice Minister Haussman said about a thousand of the accused, if they can be found, are to be tried for murder or for complicity in murder in the next two years. The Committee's files contain 80,000 names of participants in mass crimes during the Hitler years.



Defense Minister Franz Josef Strauss has ordered the names of Jewish soldiers killed in World War I to be restored to monuments from which the Nazis had eradicated them. He has also ordered republication of a collection of **Letters From the Front by German-Jewish War Dead** of World War I, which was originally published in 1935 by Jews who hoped it would help overcome official anti-Semitism. Asked by the West Berlin **Tagesspiegel** if this publication were planned as a psychological defense against the Eichmann trial, Ministry spokesmen denied it and declared they had just discovered the book now.

SERVATIUS FEE: In Cologne, the Provincial Administrative Court refused to pay Eichmann's lawyer, Robert Servatius, out of state funds the 120,000 marks ($30,000) he demanded. (Servatius had already been paid out of a special Federal fund through the intervention of Adenauer's State Secretary Hans Globke, in addition to receiving a fee of $20,000 from the government of Israel.)

Servatius stated before the opening of the trial that besides freeing Eichmann he also aimed to overthrow the decisions of the Nuremberg Tribunal.

The Christian Democratic West Berlin paper **Der Tag** editorially approved the Cologne court's action: "While 120,000 marks would be a mere nothing for the Federal treasury, at least we avoid the odium of secret or even open sympathy for the representative of the so-called Final Solution [of the Jewish question]." It commented that the main thing is "to act cleverly in this very bad business. Modesty, tact and political dexterity will be all we will be able to weigh the scales with in the next few difficult weeks."

THE INNOCENTS: Chancellor Adenauer, said in a recent TV appearance: "In the moral life of the German people there are no longer any National Socialist sentiments."

Prime Minister von Hassel of Schleswig-Holstein said in a public address that there is no such thing as "neo-Nazism" in Germany, only remnants of Nazism which are "overwhelmingly self-liquidating."

Eugen Gerstenmaier, president of the West German Bundestag, told ABC last month: "I do not see what more the Federal government could have done [in locating and prosecuting Nazi war criminals]. Not a week and scarcely a day passes without the press reporting on some such trial." (Gerstenmaier was editor of a 1937 book called **Church, Folk and State,** an attempt to justify the race policy of the Hitler Reich.)

THE BIG ONES: The press of the German Democratic Republic greeted the opening of the Eichmann trial with satisfaction. It expressed disappointment, however, that attorney Dr. F. K. Kaul was prohibited by Israel from representing a group of German Jewish plaintiffs there. The newspapers noted that there are no former Nazis in East German courts, ministries or legislative bodies, and that such research groups as the East German "Committee for German Unity" produced many documents exposing Nazi criminals still in high posts in West Germany. Anti-Semitism is a severely punished crime in the GDR.

Contrary to Gerstenmaier's claim, only a few Nazi small fry have been jailed in West Germany, while others have been ignored. Bigger fish have been permitted or helped to escape (like Eichmann). The biggest of all, condemned as war criminals in the Nuremberg trials, said Dr. Johannes Konig, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs of the GDR, are "back in the highest positions in the West German monopolies. They determine the bases of West German policy."

Eichmann is sitting in the dock for gassing millions, while I. G. Farben, which provided the gas, is manufacturing it again—with the same people running the firm.

ATONEMENT: It is not generally known that in 1941 I. G. Farben demanded and got a Jewish slave labor camp of its own because Auschwitz was too far away from its plant in Monowitz.

Other well-known German firms which made enormous profits out of concentration camp labor were named by Oswald Pohl, head of the main SS Economic Administration office, in his testimony. One director was the condemned war criminal Friedrich Flick, who controls Daimler-Benz today. With Himmler's help, Flick took the "Aryanized" (stolen from Jewish owners) Lubeck Blast Furnace Works, the Rawack & Grunfeld Steel Works, and a share of the big Petschek bituminous concern in Czechoslovakia. Robert Pferdmenges, intimate friend and political adviser of Adenauer, became sole owner of the "Aryanized" private bank of Sal. Oppenheim Jr. & Co., Cologne.

Adenauer said in his TV address that West Germany had tried to atone to the Jews through financial compensation "so far as this is materially possible at all." But he did not mention that former active Nazis are also compensated by the West German state, and that pensions to Jews amount to only a fraction of the sums paid to retired Nazis.

California events planned for Bay Area in June

A PUBLIC MEETING featuring Vincent Hallinan, and a three-day picnic offering a talk by Mrs. Vivian Hallinan have been scheduled by Guardian supporters in the San Francisco Bay area.

Friday eve., June 2 the noted California attorney, who recently returned from a tour of Japan, the Philippines and Thailand, will speak on "American Military and Economic Penetration of the Far East." The meeting will be held at 150 Golden Gate Ave. at 8 p.m.

The weekend at Camp Monte Toyon, near Santa Cruz, will be held June 16-18. Mrs. Hallinan, who toured Asia with her husband and visited Cuba last December, will compare Cuba and the Far East.

Bay Area readers who are interested in either event can get further information from Margaret Driggs, 333-A 7th Ave., S. F. 18 (Tel: SK 2-5988). Those living in Berkeley can call Lee Coe (840 Delaware St. (TH 3-4382.)

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BOOKS

Shirer's history of Nazism

AN IMPORTANT by-product of the cold ar has been a studied campaign to suppress facts and popular understanding about Nazism. Although the Nazis and their anti-Comintern Axis brought about the most appalling catastrophe in human history, the cold-war requirement has been for the U.S. to make common cause with freshly fumigated Nazis in Germany and fascist regimes and elements elsewhere. Thus the last decade has buried the story of the concentration camps, the S.S., the German General Staff, etc.

Along with the suppression has come a constant stream of German-written World War II histories, adventure stories, and self-serving autobiographies and "diaries," as well as American-made movies glorifying, apologizing for and disguising the guilt of the most heinous criminal operation the world has ever known.

NOW, even as the Cold War continues unabated, events have forced the issue out into the open again: the trial of Eichmann in Israel; the rising protest against Hans Globke, author of the anti-Semitic Nuremberg Laws, as West Germany's Secretary of State, and against the appointment of Hitler's Wehrmacht Chief of Operations and Deputy Chief of Staff, Gen. Adolph Heusinger, as head of NATO's Permanent Military Committee.

The Swedish documentary film **Mein Kampf** is showing across the country. Stanley Kramer's **Judgment at Nuremberg** promises to be one of the film events of 1961. And famed Berlin CBS radio correspondent of the 1930s, William L. Shirer, has written a massive book, **The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich—A History of Nazi Germany*** which is to be made into a motion picture by M-G-M.

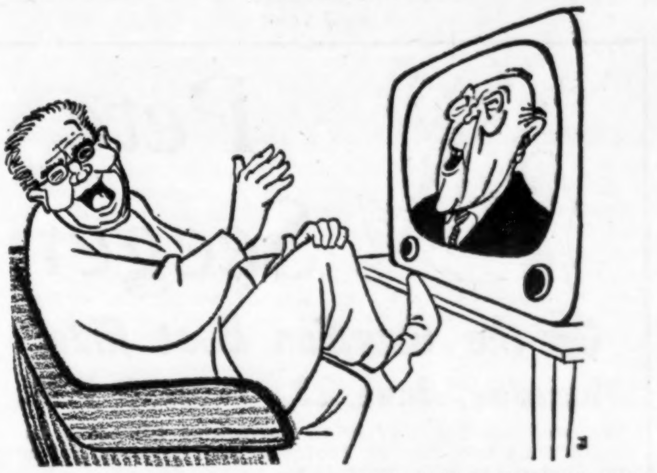
Shirer's book is at once magnificent and disappointing.

It is magnificent in its reporting and for its research into the vast treasure of documents that became available from Germany after World War II. Shirer labored for six years on this mountain of material, and he has recreated illuminating and exciting episodes of Nazi history.

Here is the detailed story of the early struggle for power of the Nazi Party, the inner conflicts and purges, the diplomatic history of the Munich Pact and the road to war. World War II is described in fascinating detail from "inside Nazi Germany." All this has been told before, but nowhere with such close attention to the facts and sense of immediacy. Any reader of Shirer's book will be greatly enriched in historic detail.

BUT the book is disappointing because Shirer fails to focus sharply on the basic truth about the rise of Nazi-fascism in Germany. Whatever the complexities, the variations — and even the seeming contradictions —Nazism and Hitler came to power as the instruments of German monopoly capitalism against the rising power of the socialist working class in a time of crisis. Furthermore the anti-Comintern Axis and its appeasement by Western "democracies" were based on fear and hatred of the Soviet Union. These were the root causes of World War II. Any adequate study of Nazism must clarify and develop this basic theme. Shirer is reluctant to do so.

There is less clarity and understanding about the rise of Nazi power in this book than in the pre-war classics: Frederick L. Schuman's **The Nazi Dictatorship** (1935) and Robert A. Brady's **The Spirit and Structure of German Fascism** (1937). The reader who understands the essence of fascism will find significant corroboration in Shirer's array and facts. But he has to relate them himself.



Arndt in Neues Deutschland, Berlin

Globke: "It's really wonderful the way he said it—'There are no longer any Nazis' . . ."

There is a lack of balance in the book. In its 1,143 pages, only 187 are given to the period before Hitler came to power in 1933. There is almost no material on the divisions that paralyzed the German working class. The decisive conflict of the Communist and Social Democratic Parties is not clarified. There is no revealing account of the failure of German democracy, which was a crucial factor in the rise of the Third Reich. The role of German industrialists and bankers in Hitler's rise is well documented, but without adequate emphasis, and almost as an interesting footnote.

ALMOST 300 pages are given to the diplomatic history of 1938-39, to Austria, Munich and the Nazi-Soviet Pact. This is a rewarding section, rich in source material, quotations, and intimate personal observation. One gets an overwhelming picture of the British-French-Polish responsibility for the failure of negotiations with the Soviet Union for joint action against Hitler. In a footnote (p. 535) Shirer reports that Stalin had kept open the door to agreement with the West against Hitler, and had not decided upon the Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact until Aug. 19, 1939, just four days before it was signed.

Yet while Shirer quotes Churchill as describing the Nazi-Soviet Pact as "realistic in a high degree," and admirably recounts the facts to justify this evaluation, he contradicts his own evidence with a typical concluding reference to the pact: "In a shoddy deal with Nazi Germany, Stalin had given the signal for the commencement of a war . . ." Shirer also fails to understand or describe the forces inside France and Britain which led to Munich. He refers to "the bankruptcy of Anglo-French diplomacy, which had faltered and tottered whenever Hitler made a move . . .", but he does not say why this occurred. Chamberlain appears weak, even stupid; Laval evil. But there is no mention of the Cliveden set in Britain, or of the dominating rightest forces in France all sympathetic to Hitler and advocates of a crusade against the Soviet Union. How then understand Munich and the road to World War II?

LACKING a rational, cohesive theoretical framework, all the facts in the world fail to gain meaning. Indeed, under such limitations, one may drown in facts. The limitations also lead to undue emphasis on subjective factors.

Unless Nazism is clearly seen as an anti-democratic move of capitalist power against the democratic power of the working class, as a move of aggressive international imperialism against the socialist world, people cannot learn the vital lesson of this horrible chapter of history. Worse, the concentration camps, Munich and all the horrors of Nazism can be turned to the service of today's reactionary forces. Two current illustrations:

- Speaking in Manila on April 3 to the Asian People's Anti-Communist League, Sen. Thomas E. Dodd (D-Conn.) warned against repeating the errors of the appeasement of Hitler at Munich by following a policy of co-existence and lack of willingness to fight the Soviet Union;
- Columnist Constantine Brown (Washington **Evening Star**, May 4, 1961) warned against negotiating with Moscow, for "the lesson of Hitler is still before us. Certainly Nikita Khrushchev is fully as capable, and as powerful, as the Nazi megalomaniac whose single distorted mind plunged the world into the maelstrom of World War II."

Twenty-four years ago, Robert Brady in his **Spirit and Structure of German Fascism** wrote:

"The importance of an understanding of German fascism does not end here. Far more vital for the future of all the nations and civilizations of the world is realization that exactly the same forces which hoisted the Nazis to the helm in Germany are at work in all other countries at the present time and that, for better or for worse, there is no possibility of avoiding the issues which those forces present for decision to every man and woman who votes, or thinks, or acts."

I wish that Shirer's book, rich as it is in exciting and revealing facts, had more sharply met the need, as vital in 1961 as it was in 1937, of truly understanding fascism. —Russ Nixon

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* *THE RISE AND FALL OF THE THIRD REICH, A History of Nazi Germany, by William L. Shirer. Simon and Schuster. 1,143 pp. $10.*

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NEW YORK

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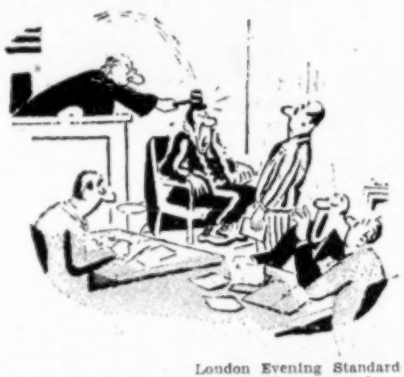
THE GALLERY

THE PORTLAND, ORE., CITY COUNCIL, by a vote of 5 to 0, denied a permit to Freedom Center, Inc., to solicit $80,000 from the public for its crusade against "communism." Commissioner Stanley W. Earl, a former union official, led the opposition in a hearing that was carried on television. The groups had been denied a permit previously, when it was known as Freedom Crusade International. The council thought that some persons might mistake the group for Crusade for Freedom. It was also dismayed that $50,000 of the funds were to be used to build a home for the group's leader, Walter Russ, and his family . . . . A woman in Visalia, Calif., called the city planning commission to ask if she needed a building permit to construct a fallout shelter. She was told by Wilma Olson: "Yes, you're supposed to for any structure with a valuation of $20 or more." The woman answered: "Oh, the heck with it. Let the Russians get me." . . . British War Minister John Profumo described the security officers who confiscated a candy model of Britain's atomic submarine Dreadnaught as "unduly zealous." The model was to be eaten at an Admiralty party . . . When members of an Oklahoma Baptist U. photography class was on a field trip with their instructor at the Rock Island depot, they snapped pictures of a moving train. Moments later the students were surrounded by police and taken to headquarters. They learned that they had just photographed a train carrying atomic materials.

THE U.S. COURT OF APPEALS in Washington, on May 11, held that airline pilots are not required to warn passengers to fasten their teacups. The ruling came in a suit by Fannie Lazarus, who said that Eastern Air Lines was to blame $25,000 worth for the scalding she received when her teacup was upset as the pilot made a steep turn. Judge Alexander Holtzoff held that dipping "is part of airplane travel." . . . . Mrs. Faye Seale of Houston, Tex., said she was going to complain to the school board over the inclusion of a book on the writings of Plato in the library of a junior high school her son attends. Mrs. Seale said she objected to Plato's proposals for communal mating, free love and mixed gymnastic classes for unclad boys and girls. "I can't help but believe this is one reason we have so many sex maniacs walking around," she said . . . . James Crimmins, owner of a supermarket in Trumansburg, N.Y., wanted to prove that "people will buy anything if it is presented to them right." So he took 35 quart bottles, filled them with tap water and pasted typed labels on them: "Instant Water—just add hot coffee." He tagged the bottles at 85 cents. He sold five bottles in one day. Crimmins reported: "One woman bought a bottle and asked me what kind of coffee I recommended to use with the 'instant water.'" . . . The Republican National Committee handed out its own "Oscar awards" to leading Democrats. It gave "supporting actor" Oscars to Lyndon Johnson for "Suddenly Last Summer" and to Hubert Humphrey for "Gone With the Wind."



London Evening Standard

"I'm beginning to think the court is prejudiced."

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FN 2511 — HOOTENANNY TONIGHT — Seeger, Sonny Terry, Leon Bibb, Betty Sanders, Earl Robinson, Bob and Louise DeCormier, Elizabeth Knight, Jewish Young Folksingers. Mule Skinner, Blues, Talking Union, Told My Captain, Dance Me a Jig.

FN 2512—HOOTENANNY AT CARNEGIE HALL—Recorded "live" with Seeger, Hally Wood, Tony Kraber, Jerry Silverman, Will Greer, Rev. Cary Davis, others. Come and Go with Me, Kevin Barry, Blood on the Saddle.

FC 7532—FOLK SONGS FOR YOUNG PEOPLE—Skip to My Lou, Blow the Man Down, Washer Lad, Motherless Child, Old Smoky, Could Be a Wonderful World, So Long.

FA 2454—THE RAINBOW DESIGN— Traditional and contemporary songs as: The Dove, Colorado Trail, Step by Step, Joe Hill's Will, Spanish Is a Loving Tongue.

FA 2450—PETE SEEGER AT THE VILLAGE GATE—with Memphis Slim and Willie Dixon; recorded "live." I'm On My Way, Hieland Laddie, Tina Singu.

FS 3851 — INDIAN SUMMER; original sound-track music from the film "Indian Summer." Composed and performed by Pete and Michael Seeger; Music from Venice Festival 1st prize-winning film, "Horizontal Lines" by Pete Seeger. Origigan sound-track from "The Country Fiddle" by Pete Seeger.

FA 2045—GOOFING-OFFSUITE — Songs include: Cindy, Blue Skies, Duet from Beethoven's 7th, Anitra's Dance, Oh! Liza Ann.

10" RECORDS

FA 2003—DARLING COREY—Songs include: John Riley, Devilish Mary, Cripple Creek, Come All Fair Maids, I Had a Wife.

FA 2043—PETE SEEGER SAMPLER— I'm On My Way, Hush! Tara, Tara; Joshua Fit the Battle of Jericho, Delia's Gone.

FA-2175—FRONTIER BALLADS (vol. 1) —Songs include: Fare You Well, Erie Canal, Blow the Man Down, Sioux Indians, Cowboy Yodel.

FA 2176—FRONTIER BALLADS (Vol. 2) —Songs include: Ground Hog, Blue Mountain Lake, Wouldn't Hoe Corn, Wayfaring Stranger, Mule in the Mine, Holler.

FW 6911—FOLK SONGS OF FOUR CONTINENTS—Sung by the Song Swappers, a double quartet directed by Seeger. Songs include: Silvy, The Greenland Whalers, Bimini Gal, Mi Caballo Blanco, Oleanna.

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FC 7020—SCHOOL DAYS — (Songs to Grow On, Vol. II) A collection of American folk songs for children, with Pete Seeger, Charity Bailey, Leadbelly, Adelaide Van Way and Cisco Houston. Songs: Fire Down Below, Skip To My Lou, Cape Cod Chantey, Rock Island Line, By'm By, All the Pretty Horses, Go Tell Aunt Rhody, Grey Goose, Mary Wore a Red Dress. **With text of songs. 10" LP ..$3.25**

FC7525—SLEEP-TIME—Songs and Stories by PETE SEEGER; A delightful album of stories and lullabys by the old master himself. Songs: Sam, The Whaler, Abiyoyo, Sweet Little Baby, Sweepy Sweepy, Where's My Pajamas, Green Grass Grows All Around and One Grain of Sand. **With text. 12" LP $3.75**

FC 7001—AMERICAN FOLK SONGS FOR CHILDREN, sung by PETE SEEGER with banjo: All Around the Kitchen, Billy Barlow, Bought Me a Cat, Clap Your Hands, Jim Crack Corn, etc. **10" L.P. $3.25**

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NEWSPAPER

the SPECTATOR

Freedomways, welcome

THE WORLD, writes W. E. B. Du Bois in the new quarterly **Freedomways** (of which more in a moment), regards us with amazement. We assert leadership in a Free World. We champion Democracy. "And for this we stage Little Rock, drive Negroes from the polls, chase black students with bloodhounds and throttle free speech. On top of this Africa arises and our FBI trains a 'Peace Corps' to guide it."

Reading through **Freedomways** amid last weekend's alarums of the resumption of counterrevolution in the South and the unreadiness of our revolutionary (right?) government to cope with it, was a most useful experience.

By what abdication of authority, and why, nearly a hundred years after a bloody Civil War, is the South enabled still to deny the integration constitutionally mandated of it when the Union's cause prevailed?

"It was a contemptible transaction," Dr. Du Bois writes. "If the Southern freedmen . . . could carry on the functions of the state, they could, if protected by military force and legal guardianship, restore the Southern states to their seats in Congress under such conditions as the victors laid down. This was done; and, instead of the anarchy and failure which the white South expected and the North was prepared to see, the South staggered to its feet; and what the leaders of the whites feared, was not the failure of these freedmen's governments, but their increasing success.

"They, therefore, offered the North, and especially its business leaders, a compromise. They would accept tariffs on imports . . . they would drop the demand for payment of Southern war debts and for emancipated slaves. One thing they insisted on was complete control of labor and the disfranchisement of the freedmen, and that they easily got from a complacent North, now on the way to immense wealth and power.

"Calmly, the North withdrew military protection, winked at the mob violence of the Ku Klux Klan, and promised to let the freedmen be disfranchised with only token opposition. They even gave up control and oversight of Southern voting for federal officials. This will destroy democracy, said some. Others answered: democracy is already dead."

(This happened when W. E. B. Du Bois was a knowledgeable lad just heading into his teens; and elsewhere in **Freedomways** his reconstruction since, as one of the topmost scholars of his race and the nation, of the deliberately-garbled history of this Reconstruction Period, is defended brilliantly by Ernest Kaiser from attack by J. C. Furnas and other defenders of American racism).

MAY THE SOUTH, then, against this background, be relied upon without Federal enforcement to establish the constitutional guarantees which it nullified scarcely a decade after they were won? Is "martial law" invoked in Alabama any guarantee of Negro freedom? Again, the new **Freedomways** contains the answer, implied in the notable address of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, president of Ghana, before the United Nations this year following the murder of Congo's premier Patrice Lumumba. Nkrumah spoke in this address of the folly, and worse, of handing power in the Congo to the **Force Publique** of Mobutu, Tshombe and Kalonji.

The **Force Publique,** Nkrumah reminded the UN, was founded some 70 years ago as the private Congo army of Leopold II of Belgium. He recalled its fame exposed by Mark Twain more than 50 years ago for proving its loyalty to Leopold with the severed hands and feet of Congolese men, women and children. A **Force** such as this, "trained in brutality and inhumanity and with a long and consistent history as the subservient tool of the Belgian colonial oppressor, can never be the basis upon which to build a government," Nkrumah warned. He urged disarming and demobilizing the entire **Force Publique,** even that portion claiming loyalty to Gizenga, and the establishment of a new and strengthened UN command, primarily African.

NKRUMAH'S ADDRESS, reprinted in full for the first time anywhere in the U.S., and Dr. Du Bois' brief, incisive reminder of the backgrounds of today's conflict in the South, are two of a baker's dozen of excellent contributions to the first **Freedomways.** Following the argument of Frederick Douglass when he founded **The North Star** in 1847, **Freedomways** has been launched by Negroes under the generalship of Shirley Graham Du Bois and Esther Jackson. Douglass wrote in his **North Star** editorial reprinted in full in **Freedomways:**

"It is neither a reflection on the fidelity, nor a disparagement of the ability of our friends and fellow-laborers, to assert what common sense affirms and only folly denies: that the man who has *suffered* the wrong is the man to *demand redress*—that the man *struck* is the man to *cry out*—and that he who has endured the cruel pangs of Slavery is the man to advocate Liberty. It is evident we must be our own representatives and advocates, not exclusively, but peculiarly—not distinct from, but in connection with our white friends."

FREEDOMWAYS Spring issue, 110-pp., contains articles by Mrs. Du Bois on the exemplary treatment of minorities in China, by Dr. Alphaeus Hunton on Guinea's progress, by Elizabeth Catlett Mora on the Negro and American art, by Ceza Nabaraoui on the quest of Asian and African women for independence and peace, by John Pittman, sculptor Margaret Burroughs, and others.

Freedomways was first broached to the interested New York public at a standing-room-only meeting last March, at which those present were invited to become founding subscribers at $10 for 1961, although the price per issue is $1 and regular subscriptions $3.50 for the year. The address is 799 Broadway, New York 3.

—John T. McManus